1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them. 173 721 [622] [563] [582]

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his. 619 622

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moen, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe. [411] 622 648 [177] [624]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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of hygiene, and the universal negligence of the sick, on the part of the well, all contribute to shorten the average lifeterm of the people, so that very few old men or women are to be found, and the mortality is so great among the young that the deaths more than counterbalance the births. Unless some great change takes place, the whole of the tribes of Talamanca will have disappeared within two or three generations more. The Tiribis, who like the others have strict rules about marriage, within certain degrees of consanguinity, are now so reduced that several young men and women are to-day forced to remain unmarried for want of proper mates sufficiently removed in relationship. But at the beginning of this century they were powerful enough to give battle to the Bri-bris. The Changinas and Shelabas have disappeared and the fate of the other tribes requires no prophet to foretell.

Physically, the people of all the tribes bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are of short stature, broad shouldered, heavily built, full in the chest, with well-formed limbs, and well muscled throughout. Their color is similar to that of the North American Indians, or, if anything different, perhaps a little lighter. There seems to be but little, if any admixture of foreign blood among them. Their history would hardly lead us to expect it. They have lived very exclusively, and it has hardly been half a century since they have ceased to live in a state of open war with all intruders from the coast side. The Spanish occupation closed so disastrously over a century and a half ago, was of too short duration, and and the whites were too few, to make a permanent impression on a then populous country.

The following measurements taken from my servant, a full grown man, who is not more than an inch, if so much, under the average height, will give a fair idea of their build. He measures in height, 5 ft. 1½ in., circumference of chest, under the arms 35¾ inches; of hips 34 inches, of waist 33½ inches, length from axilla to tips of the fingers, 24½ inches; leg, from the groin to the ground, 30 inches. Both sexes are marked by an almost perfect absence of hair from all parts of the person except the head; where there is a dense growth of coarse, straight black hair. This the women plait with considerable taste. The men wear theirs cut moderately long and of an even length all round; or a few retaining an older fashion, have it a little over a foot long, apparently its entire natural length, and either let it stream loosely over the shoulders, gather it into two plaits, or twist it into a roll, bound with a strip of matate, and coiled at the back of the head in a round flat mass.

The breasts of the women are not conical, as occurs with many, if not most of the Indian races; but are fully as globular as those of the European or African. Nor are they directed laterally. They are not generally large, though some marked exceptions occur to this rule. But they have one strongly marked peculiarity. The entire areolar area is developed into a globular protuberance, completely enveloping and hiding the nipple. The development of this part begins with, almost

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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868 524 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fishing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, [591] the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other [585] equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of ceremony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

582 614 There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 684 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermarriage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers. 582 684

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity. 837 684 [848]

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations. 601

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion. 593 768

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a person of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a socket on the face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation. 764 766 [372] [784]

[P. 8(A)]

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*šerí*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan
[614] regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of significance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
● [582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Qualys]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Qualys]

[103] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue.
[797] The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[524] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

892 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen
[582] among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

765 [273] [782] [825] is often made and is drunk at the burial place during the ceremony. Pittier [218] records the [TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 [616] **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable ●582 614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of 614 673 clan relationship is easily understood when one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] [224] [177] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 614 [164] The need to adhere to clan regulations in regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the [166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 [423] [756] On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages; Land Tenure). The land is owned by the complete group and the medicine man in

[218] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[219] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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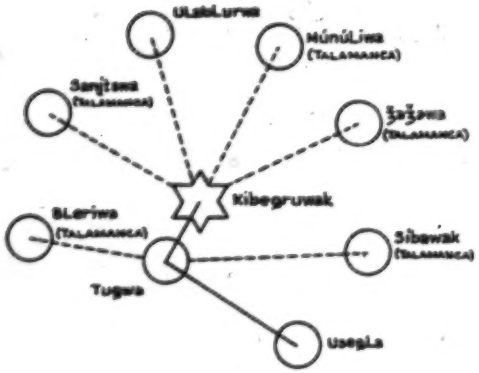
Bribri
Cabecar

[P.36(A)]

614
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[text continues middle of P. 36(B)--Analyst]

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177
manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

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463
[565]
Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] .(*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *durirak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *unirak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

262
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[643]

[117] The *salcak* and *tsirrsriwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *bruparuak*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.36(B)]

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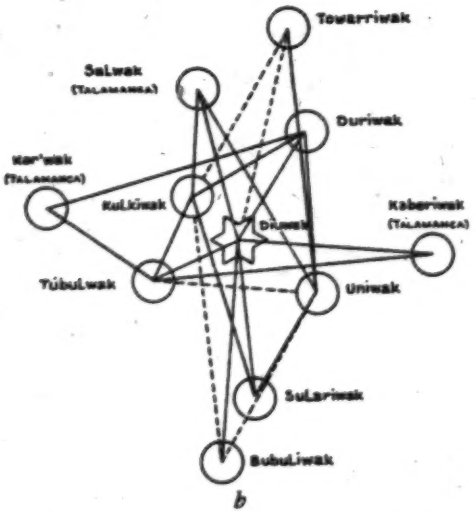
Bribri
Cabecar

614
582



b

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

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192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séká* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ká* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *ditsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *suwəet* meaning "other group." [118]

[582]

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

[614]

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

101

[118] In the Cabécar, *dəsuwak* means "same group." *sébəwcta* is "other group."

people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənɟtswa, ʒɔʒɔwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənɟtswa, ʒɔʒɔwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

Kinship Terminology. Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[122] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogcreek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[123] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[124] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[125] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

[P.38(B)]

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Bribri

601

	Mo Da So	
	Mo Fa Fa	
ʒeduśamį	Fa Mo Mo	
	So Mo	
	Da Mo	
	Da	(rarely used)
duśʒeke	Fa Fa	
	Fa Fa Br	
	Fa Fa Fa	
	Fa Mo Fa	

●[582]

Also signifies people one can marry, i.e., people who are not "our" family.

ʒeʒe or ʒiʒé	Fa	Literally: ʒi or ʒe (my) ʒé (father); ʒi is used at times instead of ʒe because of sound. be (your) can be substituted.
ʒeduśʒé	Fa Fa Fa	
	So	(rarely used in this sense)
ʒeʒékutí	Fa Si	
ʒeʒéeL	Fa Br	
éLie or éL	Fa Br So	
	Fa Si So	
	Distant male cousins	
kutí	Fa Br Da	
	Fa Si Da	
	Si	

Reference and Direct Terms

duś[129]	Fa Fa	Reciprocal in all cases.
	So So	
	Da So	
	Da Da	
	So Da	
	Mo Fa	
	Mo Fa Fa	
duɔLa[130]	Fa So Da	
	Fa Da So	
	Fa So So	
	Fa Da Da	

Direct address

kaʒéke	Fa Si	
ʒé	Fa	
ʒéLa	Fa Br	
úʒék	Fa Mo	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
duwə	Fa Fa	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
ʒeaLaʒéke[131]	Fa Br	

[129] No term for male side.
[130] Very rarely used as direct address.
[131] Used by paternal grandmother to grandchildren.
[132] Rarely used.

Both Lines

601 *Reference Terms*

aLabusi[183]	Da or girl
nɑɥʒum	Si So Si Da Br So Br Da
kabo	Term used by distant female cousins when speaking of male cousins. Is very affectionate.
[192] akeʒeke	The word means *old* and is applicable to persons or things.
aLa[183]	sibling (child) So
●[582] ɔɔʒámi	Our family or our people. One cannot marry them. *ɔɔ* (our).
ʒeaké	Si referring to Br (female ego).
ʒeeL	Reciprocal between sisters. Reciprocal between brothers. Reciprocal between brothers and sisters.
ʒekuté	Br referring to Si (male ego).
taʒe	Br referring to Si (very affectionate term). Cousins
kutaʒeke	Male referring to distant female cousins.
kutaie	Male referring to distant female cousins.

Direct Address

eL[184]	Br Si Mo Si So Mo Br So

Terms Denoting Sex

192

aLakerpa	woman (any age)
aLawebLa	man
aLaduLaken	boy
duLaduLa	youth; young (only applicable to males)

Non-Blood Relatives

601 *Reference and Direct Terms*

nɔdki	Da Hu	Wi Fa
ʒák	So Wi	Wi Mo

[183] *busi* signifies "young" or "new" and is applicable only to the feminine sex.
[183] My child is *ʒeLa*.
[184] Reciprocal between brothers and between sisters. Brothers cannot call sisters this nor vice-versa. Is